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Vietnam will decide this calls for aerial support. They will radio for bombs and napalm to be dropped on the village. Soon the planes roar in, dropping high-explosive bombs, followed by planes that drop flaming napalm. (That is the most horrible situation for the people in the village that can be imagined, said Brown.)

The relatively few Communists in the village will have taken refuge in underground shelters prepared for just this eventuality, which in many circumstances will resist the napalm fire. The women and children are left to burn.

("I have gone into villages that have been burned out under such circumstances and it is a sickening sight," said Browne. "I have helped gather up the charred bodies of women and children and lay them out for disposition on sheet iron strips. You never forget it.")

The natives know that the helicopters and planes that carried the bombs and the napalm were furnished by the United States. Under the circumstances, what reason will they have to think that the government that is claiming their loyalty and its supporter, the United States, is really concerned for them? (Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, you who would condone the use of low-yield atomic weapons to defoliate the jungles to expose the jungle trails of the guerrillas, please take note.)

Former President Kennedy is known to have believed that the United States was overcommitted in southeast Asia. How he might have planned to become disengaged there will never be known.

As the southeast Asia crisis continues to grow, the people of the United States are going to have to decide what course our Nation will take. Here are some realistic facts that should guide their considerations:

All of the people of Asia are of color. They resent the white-skinned minority of the world and have made it very plain they will never hereafter submit to its rule.

The white-skinned people of the world have made little progress in meeting the colored people of Asia on an equal basis. The devoted and consecrated white servants that are attempting to act as their teachers and guides to the sort of freedom we take for granted, are too few.

The only nuclear weapons used in warfare were released by members of the white race against a nation that was of color. The resentment for that act among people of color is very great.

Should the United States without the help of its SEATO allies, and actually against the wishes of many of them, engage in unilateral action to preserve shoddy governments against what might be the desire of an actual majority of the total people involved?

Shall we permit the hastily conceived and poorly designed Dulles policies to continue to be our guide in every situation in the whole world?

Are we beginning to realize there actually is a difference between forms of communism and that many of them are vehicles for the expression of nationalism—that they may be of service to peoples in some lands while offering no threat to our social structure?

It seems that it is time for Americans to be thinking some of the unthinkable thoughts advocated by Senator FULBRIGHT.

[From the Lewiston (Idaho) Morning Tribune, Apr. 28, 1964]

FRUSTRATIONS IN SOUTH VIETNAM

Senators FRANK J. LAUSCHE, Ohio Democrat, and HUGH SCOTT, Pennsylvania Republican, may be excused for their impatience with the progress of the war in Vietnam. As the St. Louis Post-Dispatch has observed, in an editorial reprinted on this page today, "The South Vietnamese war is not being won, and if General Khanh can even hold the line it

will be an accomplishment." The United States is spending millions of dollars, and so far has spent the lives of 131 Americans killed in action in an attempt to hold the line there. Guerrilla bands strike in South Vietnam and then scurry for the Cambodian border where U.S. airplanes are not permitted to follow. Over a jungle supply line, war materials and food are moving south from North Vietnam, where Americans are not permitted to fight. It is little wonder that LAUSCHE and SCOTT, as well as many others, are eager to carry the war to the enemy, wherever he may be.

The two Senators have called for raids into North Vietnam to choke off the supplies that are helping to keep the guerrillas going. The Vietcong, they said Sunday, should not be permitted "a privileged sanctuary" where they are safe from attack. The time has come, said LAUSCHE, to "work out a program of tit for tat" and, whenever the North Vietnamese strike, the U.S.-supported South Vietnamese "should strike in equal manner by going across the border."

There is a superficial logic in this argument, and it has found much favor. But there is a great danger in it, too, for no one can tell what sort of can of worms will be opened once the border is crossed by Americans.

Simply to cross the border and bomb a few key roads and depots probably would do no good; the Government of North Vietnam, which supports the Vietcong, would have to be militarily defeated and it is unlikely that Red China would permit that to happen. The most probable result of the Lausche-Scott policy would be that once the border is crossed in the south by U.S.-supported South Vietnamese, it also will be crossed in the north by Red Chinese "volunteers." We then would have the choice of backing out, which would leave us worse off than we are now, or of throwing China out of North Vietnam, which would make a big war out of a little one.

Neither alternative is palatable, and the latter is recklessly dangerous. As Senator FRANK CHURCH, Democrat, of Idaho, pointed out Sunday, this could lead to "a hopeless entanglement, the end of which is difficult to see."

The war in southeast Asia is frustrating, to be sure, and the temptation is great to look for quick solutions. Unfortunately, there are none. The best we can hope to do in South Vietnam, at least for the time being, is maintain a perilously delicate balance of power by whatever military means seem appropriate. The most promising long-range solution is neutralization of all of southeast Asia so that the fighting can be halted without great loss of power and prestige on either side. But that must come later; in the meantime, we must settle for a severely limited war.—L.H.

[From the New York Times, June 12, 1964]
 ASIAN CONFRONTATION

Two U.S. planes have been shot down in Laos and now American armed fighter plane escorts are shooting back. The situation is deteriorating in Vietnam as well as in Laos and, by reflexion, in Cambodia, Thailand and all of southeast Asia. When or how is the shooting going to end? When or how is the steady, if slow, advance of the Communists in the region going to be stopped?

The power factor in southeast Asia that really counts is the confrontation between the United States and Communist China. They are still at some distance from each other, but the gap is closing. When Under Secretary Ball and President de Gaulle conferred the other day, they agreed that southeast Asia should be denied to the Communists, but they disagreed on how this was to be done. General de Gaulle insists with reason that no settlement of the Indochina conflict is

possible without the concurrence of the Communist Chinese. This is the dominating factor. China is there; the United States is 10,000 miles away. Chinese power radiates over the whole of Asia from India to Korea.

The nub of the question is the American belief that a withdrawal of our military support would leave a vacuum which the Red Chinese would inevitably fill—not to mention the fact that for better or worse we have commitments that we must honor. The DeGaulle argument is that China has enough problems with Russia in the north, India in the west and the United States in the east, not to mention a strained economy, to be willing to leave southeast Asia more or less alone—on the condition that China felt there was no longer any reason to fear a threat from the United States in that area.

There is no ideal solution; but it has seemed to this newspaper that the most practicable one is, in the broadest possible terms, a guaranteed neutralization of all States that formerly made up Indochina. What this means is that the interested powers—including particularly the United States, the Soviet Union, and Communist China—would mutually and gradually withdraw militarily from that area and would at the same time guarantee the independence of the respective States, possibly with a U.N. presence to enforce it.

Obviously such a solution is risky and might not work out in practice, but the risks will be great no matter what is done, and will be still greater if the outcome is left to the hazards of military escalation.

The entire problem deserves exploration in another conference of the 14 nations, Communist China included, that have been concerned with southeast Asia since the Geneva Conference of 1962. The decisive confrontation of the United States and Red China should be over a negotiating table, not with arms. In the long run, this will only be possible when Communist China is a member of the United Nations and when Washington can speak to Peiping in the normal course of diplomatic exchanges between two nations that recognize each other.

[From the Idaho Daily Statesman, June 12, 1964]

LAOS POLICY FAILS TO ACHIEVE GOALS (By Ralph McGill)

WASHINGTON.—The United States became heavily involved in Laos during the Eisenhower administration. From the 1950's into the present, political and ideological chaos has, with but few intermissions, been the rule. The late Secretary of State Dulles applied his "domino" theory to southeast Asia. If one domino were pushed over, the others all fell.

Laos has never been truly a country, or nation. It is not one today. It likely will never be. A beleaguered France gave it "independence" in 1949. The landlocked, mountainous area had once been a part of the Indochina union, and since 1883, a French protectorate. Its religion is Buddhist and animism.

It is a region of tribal groups. Laos is an example of the slow evolution of ethnic groups toward a commonly shared culture and loyalty. Today, the people would like to be left alone. They do not trust us or want us there. They do not want the Russians or the Communists. They have no comprehension of ideology beyond that of the philosophic, meditative neutralism of Buddhism. There is no concept of all that is bound up in the words "freedom," "liberty," "democracy."

"Kings" developed out of the "royal" this was fostered by France. Colonialism understandably found it easier to establish a government by

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recognizing a leading family. Out of the plan came princes, princesses and a sort of dynasty. The people are used to being "ruled" by a headman or a coalition of tribal "elders."

These Laotian generalities would apply, with variations, to all of southeast Asia. South Vietnam is divided by religion—Christianity and Buddhism. For a generation there has been a growing gulf, widened by sporadic persecutions in which both divisions share responsibility.

We are in a predicament today which is not at all that of the late 1950's. At that time monolithic communism was supporting the northern secession forces. There was then, as now, dislike of Chinese in the area. The Chinese, present in southeast Asia in the hundreds of thousands, had gained control of much of the business and the local markets.

There was then more Russian influence than mainland Chinese. But as the division grew between the Communist giants, it became apparent that because of geography the Mao government would be the one with the most influence. The mainland Chinese throughout the entire area previously had kept a calculating eye on Formosa and the Nationalist Chinese, and on the Russians.

At least 2 years ago these Chinese decided that with Red China withdrawing from her alliance and ideological "oneness" with Moscow, their future lay with Peiping. There was the usual realism in this. If Peiping's influence was the stronger, then the local governments would not likely take over the business of local Chinese. (In Indonesia Sukarno took the property of many Chinese and drove them out of the country.)

Hence, the presence of these relatively well-off mainland Chinese in the various countries of today's southeast Asia is a deterrent to local feeling of independence from China and is a very considerable assistance to the growing dominance of Peiping's influence. The Chinese have the added asset of color. The Russians are "long noses" and white.

It was this situation which President Kennedy inherited. It was new. But it is the height of folly to try and fix any blame for it on any individual or administration. The Dulles policy failed. Revision of that policy to try to meet the new conditions has not succeeded.

We now are confronted with the need to negotiate an international agreement which will permit us to withdraw with some saving of face. But what we should understand is that the evolution of former isolated and so-called backward peoples in the world will continue. They want to be left alone. They will not be.

THIS IS THE WEEK THAT IS

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I yield myself such time as may be necessary to impart an observation to the Senate.

This is the week that is.

This is the week when the hands of the clock are running in both directions.

This is the week when history is being made and unmade.

This is the week when King George III, lying restlessly in his grave for almost 200 years, has finally been vindicated.

Poor misunderstood George: He always knew that colonialism was the ideal form of government. But the uncouth yokels—John Hancock, George Washington, Sambo Adams and all the rest—they were too dumb to understand.

They did not know how well off they were, and they made trouble for George—real trouble.

We must remember, however, that "might and right rule the world—might till right is ready"; and after 190 years, during which George has been kicked and cussed and ridiculed by Whigs and Tories, Democrats and Republicans alike, "right" finally prevailed, and the U.S. Supreme Court decided, belatedly, it is true, that George III had been right all the time.

It may be that some backward countries may now sneer at us; but those that still hold colonies will applaud.

And as for you, Nikita Khrushchev, you with your crackbrained notion that legislative bodies should represent areas as well as population—please step down. Who do you think you are, anyway? Benjamin Franklin?

This is the week that is.

This is the week when Orville Freeman, bless his heart, gave to the public the names and addresses of all the cotton mills that copped \$23 million of taxpayers' money in 6 weeks' time.

What a shame—what a travesty to release these names. Now they will be the target of every organization that believes itself deserving of a cut.

Handouts are for farmers—and charities—and the mentally retarded—not for high-level manufacturers. How could you do such a terrible thing, Orville?

But now that the deed has been done and you boys in the textile business are full-fledged members of the club, we welcome you, Brother Bob, and you, Brother Charlie, and all your comrades, into the great fraternity of "Feeders at the Public Trough."

Let me caution you, however, that with the great privileges which you will enjoy as members there is also an obligation.

Keep your dues paid up promptly. The voluntary contributions you made last winter were just initiation fees.

The dues are regular and mandatory.

This is the week that is.

This is the week when the "Society for the Control of Shyness" scored its greatest triumph.

Willie the Wonder Boy had always wanted to be important, but one thing had stood in his way. He was shy.

He never liked to wrestle with the other boys. He would never take candy away from the other children. He wanted it brought to him.

Whenever he took a bath the water would be warmed for him, as he had a violent aversion to cold water.

Once when it was suggested that he ought to act like other boys his age and get out and fight for what he wanted, he simply said: "Nix on that stuff."

When his friends tried to get him to talk on television and radio, thinking that might cure his shyness, he was overcome by "Tke-fright."

Then, the committee for the control of shyness took a hand with Willie. They appealed to his pride; they worked on his conscience; and then they told him that the big bad "escapes" from rest

homes and mental institutions would infest the country and eat all the people unless he stopped being coy.

That did it.

Willie straightened up. He donned his gold-plated armor. He said "I want to do something big," and promptly plunged into the swim where he was almost, but not completely, immediately submerged by cold water.

This is the week that is.

This is the week that three red-blooded American boys are trying out a great experiment in psychology.

These three boys, Lyn, and Dean, and Bob, had heard of a far-off country. At least, it seemed far off until Bob found that it was actually within easy commuting distance.

And in this far-off land there were lots and lots of people; so many in fact that it was very hard to count them.

When Americans first visited this land, the people were very glad to see them. They said, "We like Americans; we want to work with them."

But after a few years their attitude seemed to change.

In spite of all the presents the Americans gave them, the people of this far-off land became less sociable. They even got less friendly with their own government.

One day they found that someone had broken into their palace and done away with their king—who really did like Americans.

After that, they became less friendly than ever.

One day not so many moons ago Dean said to Bob, "I have just had a call from Cab. He says that most everyone in this far-off land don't like us any more. What can we do to make them like us whether they want to or not?"

But Bob said, "We must not do anything until we talk with Lyn."

So they talked with Lyn, and he said, "Do what you think best, boys; I will be too busy to help you much for four more long months."

So Dean and Bob, knowing that all backward people like candy, decided that the thing to do was to drop bom-boms all over these people who don't like Americans any more, and that would make them like us immensely.

So in this week that is we have been dropping bom-boms on the people of this far-off land so they will like us real well from now on.

And if some of the bom-boms intended for the backward people along the Mekong inadvertently fell among the people along the Congo, it may be that either Dean or Bob lost his sense of direction.

Anyway, do we not want the 200 million people of Africa to like us too?

"Oil in oil" our boys are having a busy week.

Yes, Mr. President, this is the week that is. A week to be long remembered.

Provided, of course—and pardon this morbid note—that the events of this week do not constitute a prelude to the week that never will be.

I thank the Senate.